32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding magic, witchcraft, or kinship.

There kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekas wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that extra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of